

## Message Text

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ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 W

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FM AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 7019

C O N F I D E N T I A L TEL AVIV 4819

NODIS

FOR NSC BRZEZINSKI FROM AMBASSADOR LEWIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PGOV, IS, US

SUBJECT: BEGIN VISIT

1. RABBI ARTHUR HERTZBERG HAS ASKED ME TO PASS TO YOU THE RESULTS OF HIS CONVERSATION WITH BEGIN, AND SOME OTHER IMPRESSIONS HE HAS GLEANED ABOUT THE SITUATION HERE FROM OTHER MEETINGS HE HAS BEEN HAVING. HERTZBERG'S CONCLUSIONS FOLLOW.

2. BEGIN INTENDS TO ASK FOR A PRIVATE MEETING WITH YOU DURING HIS VISIT, AND FULLY UNDERSTANDS ITS IMPORTANCE.

3. "BEGIN HAS BEHIND HIM AT THIS POINT A NATIONAL CONSENSUS, WHICH INCLUDES BOTH PERES AND YADIN, NOT TO PERMIT HIMSELF OR ISRAEL TO BE 'PUSHED AROUND' BY THE PRESIDENT DURING THE VISIT."

4. "BEGIN WILL NOT BE CARRYING A PIECE OF THE WEST BANK WITH HIM WHEN HE COMES TO THE U.S." (I INTERPRET WHAT HERTZBERG IS SAYING HERE TO MEAN THAT HE DOES NOT BELIEVE BEGIN WILL BE PREPARED TO MAKE THE COMMITMENTS ABOUT WITHDRAWAL ON THE WEST BANK WHICH WE CERTAINLY  
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WILL BE SEEKING.)

5. BEGIN WILL BE GOING TO WASHINGTON "NOT JUST TO NEGOTIATE, BUT ALSO TO EDUCATE."

6. A PROBABLE BEGIN TACTIC IN THE MEETINGS WILL BE TO SAY IN EFFECT: "THE U.S. HAS ADDED THE CONCEPT OF A

PALESTINIAN HOMELAND TO THE FRAMEWORK AGREED ON IN  
RESOLUTION 242. I AM PREPARED TO INTERPRET 242 AS  
REQUIRING SOME WITHDRAWAL ON THE WEST BANK IF THE U.S.  
RETURNS TO THE ORIGINAL TEXT OF 242 AND DROPS THE  
EMPHASIS NOT CONTAINED THEREIN ON THE 'HOMELAND'."

7. HERTZBERG IS CONVINCED THAT YADIN WILL JOIN THE  
CABINET. FROM A PRIVATE DINNER CONVERSATION BETWEEN  
YADIN AND PERES AT WHICH HERTZBERG WAS PRESENT, HE UNDER-  
STANDS THAT YADIN'S ULTIMATE REASON FOR HIS CURRENT  
TENDENCY TO JOIN IS HIS FEAR OF WAR -- AND HIS FEAR  
OF THE "LACK OF JUDGMENT OF THE PRESENT MEMBERS OF THE  
INNER FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND SECURITY CABINET." HERTZBERG  
SAYS THAT AT THIS DINNER PERES WAS URGING YADIN THAT  
BOTH THE DMC AND LABOR SHOULD JOIN AS A BLOC TO ENTER  
THE GOVERNMENT SO AS TO HAVE ENOUGH WEIGHT TO CONDITION  
BEGIN'S DECISIONS, BUT TRYING DESPERATELY TO PERSUADE  
YADIN NOT TO GO IN ALONE. YADIN WAS REPORTEDLY NOT  
SUSCEPTIBLE TO THIS ARGUMENT.

8. COMMENT: I WANT TO STRESS AGAIN THAT ALL OF THE  
ABOVE IS HERTZBERG'S VIEW BASED ON HIS CONVERSATION.  
ALL OF IT IS PLAUSIBLE, BUT NEEDS FURTHER CONFIRMATION  
IN THE DAYS AHEAD, WHICH WE WILL OF COURSE BE SEEKING.  
I WILL BE SEEING BEGIN NEXT WEEK PRIVATELY, PROBABLY  
JULY 7, AND WILL BE DOING EVERYTHING I CAN TO MAKE SURE  
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BEGIN UNDERSTANDS WHAT IS EXPECTED WHEN HE COMES TO  
WASHINGTON. I HAVE ALREADY GONE OVER THIS GROUND IN  
DETAIL WITH DAYAN, WHO HAS REPORTED FULLY TO BEGIN  
(SEE SEPTTEL). THAT CONVERSATION, REINFORCED BY MONDAY'S  
PUBLIC STATEMENT IN WASHINGTON, AND SEVERAL DETAILED  
ISRAELI PRESS ACCOUNTS OVER THE PAST THREE DAYS OF WHAT  
BEGIN WOULD BE ASKED IN WASHINGTON, CAN LEAVE LITTLE  
AMBIGUITY IN HIS MIND AT THE PRESENT. THERE CERTAINLY  
WILL BE NONE BY THE TIME HE DEPARTS.  
LEWIS

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## Message Attributes

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**Review Markings:**  
Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
22 May 2009  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009